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511 tion capacity of cement plants and brick factories would have to be increased before there can be any question of more housing. This is but one example out of many of its kind. There is a manifest contradiction between the present Russian-enforced armament production in the area, which has not been curtailed, and the intended mass production of consumer goods. The two cannot be carried on simultaneously. For these reasons alone, the recent statements of the Communist governments should be regarded with much scepticism.

288 295 433 The situation as regards clothing and footwear is even worse. The problem of obtaining it is nearly insoluble for the average family. It is far more difficult than in Russia where millions wear Polish textiles and Czech shoes. To discuss this question in detail is beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it is to say that, according to the present long-range plans, Eastern Germany expects to produce in 1955 only 1.3 pairs of leather shoes per capita, Rumania 1.2 pairs, Hungary 1 pair, and Poland 0.7 pairs. No one can say what proportion of this footwear will be earmarked for export to Russia and China or assigned in advance to the army and security police and what will be left for the population. It is for such reasons that behind the Iron Curtain it is illegal to photograph the people on the streets or to export abroad such documentary evidence of their poor garb.

• 657 745 In contrast to the situation regarding food, housing, and clothing, the number and range of social services have been considerably extended, and these state services should in all fairness be regarded as significant steps taken to offset the low standard of living. It is little known that prewar Poland and Czechoslovakia, not to speak of Germany, had state-operated systems of social insurance and public health more advanced than any existing at the time in France or the United States. These systems have been enlarged under Communism. The quality of their services is too often insufficient, but the

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people accept them as their due and can no longer visualize life without them. A large and, according to official claims, growing part of national income is being spent on social insurance, public health, family allowances, maternity and children care, workers' vacations, so-called physical culture, and the like. There is no comparison between the philosophy of the welfare state in Britain and that of Communism in Eastern Europe, but there are some similar functions in both systems. For much the same reasons that the Conservative government in London could never think of taking back the social reforms of the Labor government, no post-Communist government in Eastern Europe will be able to consider curtailing the privileges accorded to the working class by the present regimes.

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The most important and politically the most decisive of the privileges granted by the State is education, understood always strictly in the Communist sense of the term. The Communist regimes are aware that they cannot seriously expect to win the minds of the majority of the adult population. Anyone who was twenty years old in 1938 in Bohemia or Moravia, in 1939 in Poland, in 1941 in Serbia, and as late as 1944 in Hungary or Rumania, can contrast his present situation as an individual and as a part of his nation to his situation under a non-Communist government, however imperfect the latter may have been. There is no way of knowing how many of these men and women regret the past and hate the present, but they undoubtedly constitute a large majority of the adult population of the area. From the Communist point of view, these men and women are incurable. The future of the Red regimes depends on the youngsters who know nothing about the past, are isolated from the freedoms of the West, and are daily taught that Russia is their shin-